1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

something to bring back. No man will return from a hunting excursion empty handed to face the ridicule and anger of his wife; and as a consequence men are occasionally absent from their homes for two or three days, sleeping in the bush, until they have acquired some game, if nothing more than a turtle or a couple of birds' eggs, to bring back to the household. Under ordinary circumstances a man usually hunts alone with the help of a dog, although hunting parties are occasionally formed for the pursuit of drove animals, such as bush hog, or unwieldy beasts such as maipuri (bush cow). In fishing a man has his own private lines which he tends himself, but when a stream is poisoned, the cooperation of several men, and frequently of women and children, is enlisted.

The women of the household attend to the field products, digging the cassava and gathering the other edibles, as well as the cooking and preparation of all food. In these activities they are assisted by men too old to hunt and by young children. The cutting and preparation of the field, is, however, the man's task. And both the men and the women cooperate to do the planting.

Hunting. In the procuring of land animals, only three kinds of devices are used: the bow-and-arrow, the trap, and, rarely, the shot gun. Blow guns and spears are not in use at the present time, nor is there any memory of their former use by the Caribs. Such contrivances are said by the old men to have been used by the Akawai who formerly had settlements on the river and they are occasionally brought into the area as curiosities from distant Akawai settlements.[1]

Bows are made from four different kinds of wood and vary slightly according to the material. These four varieties are washiba (Carib, same; unidentified), letter wood (Carib, paidya; *Brosium aubletti*), bopa (Carib, same; unidentified), and yarriyarri (Carib, same, *Anaxagorea* sp.). The washiba bow in cross section is a fat oval; it is somewhat flatter on the belly than on the back and the wood is almost black. The letter wood bow has the same general

[1] Alec, for instance, says that when he was young his uncle brought a blow pipe home after he had made a trip to the head of the Cuyuni. There he had bought the weapon from the Akawais. It was made in one piece from a palm stem with the pith removed. His uncle gave him instructions concerning it. If you hit the quarry and it runs away, the poison is spoilt and the blow pipe must be thrown away. "This is because the game runs away with the essence of the poison" robbing the poison on your unused darts of its power and the weapon of its efficacy. To be successful you must try to hit the game two or three times and cut out the parts around the wounds.

shape as the washiba, but the wood has transverse dark markings across the belly of the bow. The bopa bow is flatter in cross section than the two preceding types. These three types of bow are provided with a groove running the full length of the back, in which is held the surplus part of the bow string which is used for strengthening the weapon. The yarriyarri bow is round in cross section, yellowish or light brown in color, and has no groove in its back.

The body of the bow in all types tapers gradually from the middle toward both ends. At each end, the taper is suddenly broken by a small shoulder, marking the base of a short blunt-ended peg whittled out of the wood in one piece with the rest of the bow. Around this small peg at each end, the bow string is attached. In an unstrung bow the head is often indistinguishable from the foot. The string is attached to the head by a slipknot, whereas at the foot, the string is attached by two half hitches and carried up the back in the groove. It is held in place in the groove by being bound around the bow upon itself in two places. These bindings, which extend around the entire bow, are at approximately the first and third quartiles, respectively, of the bow's length; and between the two bindings the string is carried twice, so that, in effect, two strengthening cords lie along the back of the middle part of the bow, as can be seen in the illustrations. The strengthening, however, is carried only to the upper binding so that the upper quarter of the bow has no support on its back. The bow string, the strengthening along the back, and the bindings are all part of one unbroken length of kraua cord. When stringing a new bow, a man tests it by bending it, with first one end then the other on the ground, to see which end is stiffer; this end is chosen for the foot; a suitable length of cord is paid out and attached to the foot peg by means of the two half hitches above mentioned, a slip knot is made in its end and the bow string tested for length, after which it is attached to the head. Then the remaining loose cord attached to the foot is bound in the groove along the back to serve as strengthening.

I had the men teach me to make several bows. In making a washiba bow we went early one morning into the bush and found an old washiba log which had fallen to the ground. With a cutlass, a piece about six feet long, square in cross section, and about three

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

inches in diameter, was hacked out. The piece of wood was brought back to the settlement and the whole morning was spent in hacking it down to the proper size. First a cutlass was used, then a wooden-handled knife. A series of hacks or cuts about one-half inch apart was made along the surfaces to be reduced. Then the wood was reduced by a shaving motion of the blade. The afternoon was spent in smoothing down the wood to an oval shape. For this purpose the edge of the knife was used as a scraper, as well as an old cassava grater. Great care was spent in getting the proper taper, and the balance and resiliency of the bow were tested by frequent flexions. Then the ends were determined, with due regard to symmetry, and the pegs whittled at the head and foot. The next morning was spent in making the groove in the back with a broken piece of mirror glass. Then the bow was smoothed all over with a purumo leaf, which is rough and approximates the action of sand paper. Following this the bow was taken down to the creek and placed in the water, where it was left for three days to be seasoned. On the fourth day it was removed and rubbed all over with aporokune gum, which is said to toughen it as well as improve its appearance. Then it was strung.[1]

The bow string is made of the fibre of the kraua grass, (*Bromelia* sp.) which is specially cultivated in the fields for this purpose. The long semi-stiff leaves are shredded through a loop of string attached to a post of the house, as described by Roth[2]. The fibre is then spun into three-twine string by rolling it on the thigh.

Arrows are of several types, but each consists of the following parts (Plate 3, *b*). The head (piatura) is, in these days, made of an old piece of iron, usually a discarded cutlass filed down to the proper shape, or of wood. The epuru is the small piece of wood into which the base of the head is set; on harpoon types the epuru end is pointed and fits into a socket at the base of the head; it is usually made of wawkonse wood. The epuru is set into the end of the hollow shaft (*mapuru*), which is made from a reed-like plant cultivated in the fields for this purpose and called by the Caribs mapuru epui (*Gynerium saccharoides*). The shaft is usually split in receiving the epuru and must be bound around with fine kraua

[1] Bow, urapa; head, apono; foot, opinyoni natari; bow string, urapa amoti; strengthening string, shyatumamoti.

[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, p. 114.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

411 284 924 [237] string (binding, epu miotopo). For feathering the arrow (puliwa epawriri) the wing feathers of the powis (*Crax sp.*) are used. Two feathers are employed for each arrow, one for each side. The two feathers are laid on the ground side by side and the spines cut away from the central rib of each feather on the interior side, so that the two "half-feathers" remaining complement each other. The central ribs are not split. The two feathers are then bound on opposite sides of the shaft with their long axes parallel to the long axis of the shaft, so that when viewed broadside both present the same surfaces of the original feathers. Fine kraua twine or cotton yarn is used for binding, cotton being preferable; each feather is bound to the shaft in five places, (feather binding, epawriri miotopo). The knock (yesendano) is made of wawkonse wood and is set into the split end of the shaft which is bound about with cotton thread (knock binding, ityo miotopo).[1]

[381] On those arrows which have removable or harpoon heads, the recovery cord is fastened to the head by kraua binding and a glue made of mani gum (*Moronobea coccinea Aubl.*). The recovery cord is called towoto poyamoti.

411 To straighten the shaft of an arrow, it is held over fire and bent into shape with the hand without the help of other apparatus.

The arrow release is between the thumb and first joint of the first finger (Plate 4, *a*). The arrow shaft is always held on the left side of the bow between the second and third fingers of the left hand.

A bow is between four and six feet long (Plates 4, *b* and 5, *a*), and the arrows are usually of approximately the same length. The feathered part of the shaft is four to five inches long and the head of the arrow ranges between six and twelve inches. Figure 2 shows the more common types of arrow heads.

The aranseta (Fig. 2, *a*) is a plain laurel-leaf point.

411 224 The rapa (Fig. 2, *b*) is used for hunting hog and is provided with a transverse peg of wood at the base of its leaf-shaped point. This peg serves as a stop so that the arrow immediately comes out after the quarry is hit and is not broken while the hog thrashes about in the underbrush.

The takoshi (Fig. 2, *c*) is provided with one deep barb on one

113 [1] For South American distribution of this method of strengthening the arrow-butt, see Nordenskiöld, 1924, *The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia.*

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

side. It is sometimes detachable. The taoto (Fig. 2, *d*) is double barbed. 411 224

The pinya is the general term applied to that type of arrow which has a detachable head attached by a long recovery string to the shaft. The shaft acts as a drag to prevent the escape of the game in thick bush.

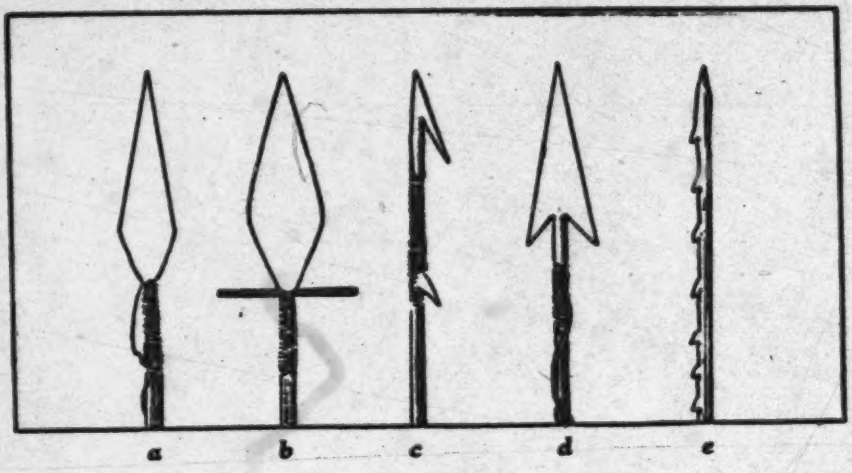

FIGURE 2

Arrowhead types. Left to right: aranseta; rapa; takoshi; taoto; matowai.

One fish arrow (no special name) has a head like that of the aranseta, but is provided with a line attached to the tail of the shaft. The other end of the line is tied around the wrist of the fisherman. 411 226

The tarapa is another type of fish arrow, provided with a cluster of three iron or wooden points as figured in Roth.[1]

Matowai (Fig. 2, *e*) carries a wooden head with many small barbs along one side. It is used for birds. [223]

A utensil sometimes used as a weapon is the cutlass. No Carib will venture out of sight of his house without his cutlass. These implements are made of iron, forged in one piece with a hollow handle which, however, is never hafted. They are obtained in trade and are used for every purpose, from cutting trails to shaving, to which a cutting or hacking implement can be put. Occasionally small animals are killed with the cutlass. 411

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts and Customs*, Fig. 54, B.

411 177 A few of the men possess dilapidated shotguns which they have obtained from traders or gold diggers. These formidable weapons are known locally as "gas pipes" and are characteristically patched together with bits of string and wire. They are potentially as dangerous to the hunter as to the quarry, because their rustiness and generally feeble condition result in comparatively numerous explosions of the barrel with very serious results. Each hunter has one or two brass shells which are constantly reloaded with powder and shot. The high value of these accessories prohibits their waste and a man seldom shoots until he is sure of hitting the game.

231 224 A man usually goes hunting with his dog, which is invariably an unidentifiable mongrel trained to follow a scent without barking. To improve the sense of smell the dog is forced to submit to certain practices intended to stimulate its olfactory centers. Juice of the red pepper is poured down the animal's nostrils. This "makes the cold" which obstructs the olfactory areas "come out." Cleansing of the dog's nose may also be accomplished with a small twig. The animal is usually deprived of food for a full day before being taken on a hunting expedition so that it will have a personal interest in the search for game. Although the dogs lying around an Indian house always have a more or less dejected and emaciated appearance, a certain amount of care is taken by the Indians to keep them in good hunting condition. Mosquito worms are dug out of their skin as soon as discovered and chiggers removed from their feet. One often sees a man sitting outside the house examining the feet and skin of his dog.

224 The general hunting technique is to follow the dog to the vicinity of the game, whereupon the dog is tied to a tree with a piece of bush rope or, if well trained, made to lie down. The hunter then stalks noiselessly up to the quarry, so close as to permit an almost certain shot. Should the animal discover the approach of the hunter and take flight, the latter knows a call which he can use to attract the curiosity or favorable attention of the species in question. These calls are either whistling sounds made with the lips or grunting and humming sounds produced in the throat of the hunter. In many cases they have no apparent resemblance to the call of the animal itself, but on frequent occasions I have seen an animal about to take flight arrested with apparent curi-

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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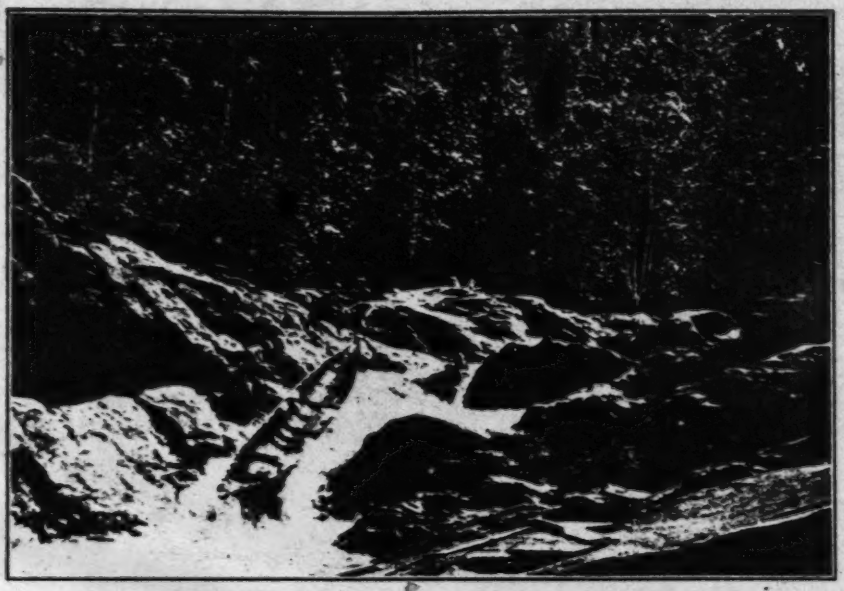

a. A portion of the "Great Falls" of the Barama at Towakaima, an impediment to navigation which has tended to isolate the settlements located above it.

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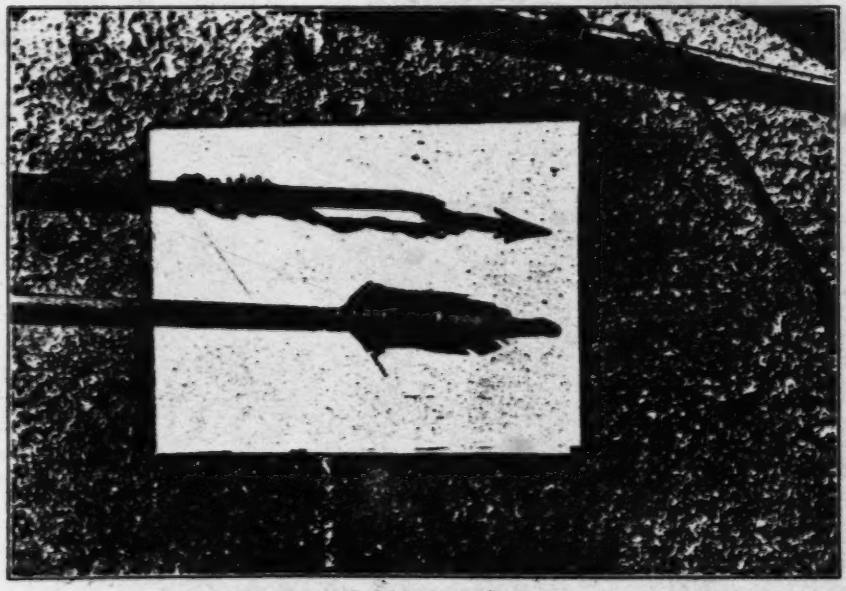

b. Feathering and tip of a harpoon arrow.

[end plate 3]

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1: Gillin E-5 (1932-39)1936 SS9 Carib SS9

a, Close-up view showing arrow release in use by Barama Carib.

b, The old and the new in Carib hunting — bow-and-arrows and shotgun.

[End plate 4]

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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a. A man using bow and arrow. Note the typically raised position of the right elbow.

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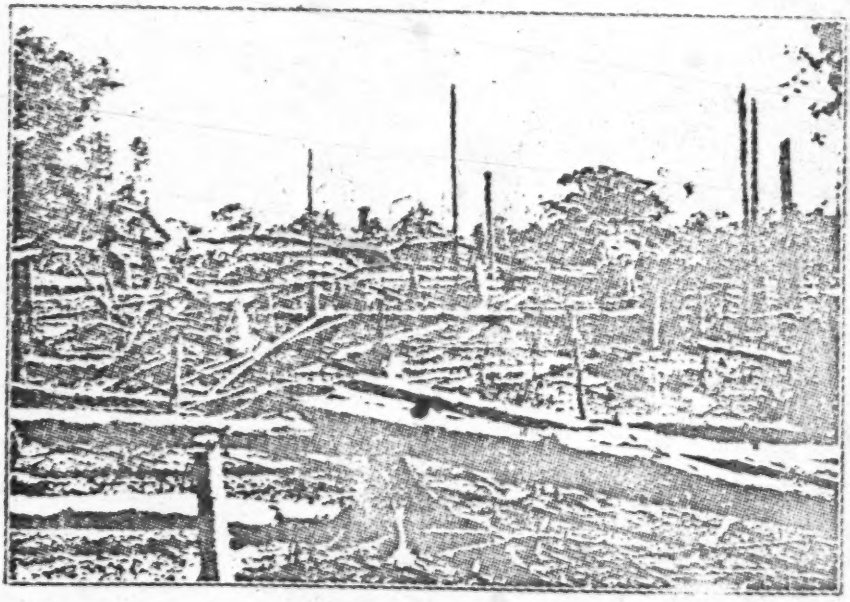

b. A newly cut cassava field. The brush has been removed, but the fallen tree trunks have not yet been burned.

[end plate 5]

22 walking through the forest is always on the lookout for casual
262 protein. The smallest bird egg, an embryonic bird, or what have you, are saved and consumed.

224 The more intensive food quest for the larger animals is aided by
411 the introduction of rifles. A few dilapidated shotguns were in use
177 by Upper Barama River Caribs in 1932-33 (Gillin 1936:8). Currently, only a limited number of men own rifles and ammunition is not always available. As a consequence, the local technology of hunting, including bow and arrows and traps as described by Gillin (1936:3-9), is maintained.

226 The fish poisons described by Gillin are also in use (1936:11).
137 Rather than the haiari root, the kunami leaves, picked from plants in the fields, are more frequently used around the air strip, where the harvesting of fish has also changed. After repeated poisoning of the nearby streams, only a handful of small fish, three inches and under, are collected in this manner.

231 With regard to domesticated fauna, there exists the same lack of a specific boundary which characterizes the floral resources.
[262] Chickens are clearly domesticated. Currently, they and their eggs are eaten. This is a change from an ornamental use reported by Gillin (1936:45). At one time, a few pigs were raised in the area around the air strip. Scrawny dogs who must scavenge for themselves are kept for hunting. Also, a variety of birds and animals, including the kibihi, armadillo, labba, and bush hog, are captured when
[262] infants and kept as pets until they are mature. Then they are eaten. Finally, a honey bee nest may be moved to a location convenient to future use.